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ILLINOIS LEGISLATORS TOOLS OF CORPORATIONS

A Trip to Springfield in the Interest of Municipal Ownership Bills and What Came of It—How the People Are "Represented"

BY PHILIP S. BROWN

On the 10th of this month, in company with about thirty men, I went to Springfield, Ill., to advocate some socialistic measures touching the gas and electric lighting question. The party left Chicago on the Alton Limited and the first incident of note was a wreck of the train, caused by a carelessly placed rail. The company did not care to spend money repairing its track because it would by so doing decrease its dividends. After a five-hour wait a new train was made up and we finally reached Springfield late at night.

We were told that the committee on municipal corporations, before whom we were to appear, would hear us at 9 in the morning next day. We then held a meeting and looked over the various bills that had been introduced, and decided on two, one of which enabled cities to furnish electricity to their inhabitants and the other regulated the price to be charged for gas. There were some forty bills to choose from, most of which had been introduced by the notoriously corrupt politicians who wanted to be bought off by the corporations affected. We were further advised that it would be impossible to have any bill recommended which "provided for municipal gas," because the arguments of the gas companies had been received before we came.

The next morning we appeared before the committee and proceeded to lay our case before them. They gave us a short hearing and were seemingly attentive, but looked, through it all, decidedly bored. Some one moved that the committee go into executive session, which motion was promptly seconded. At this point a representative whose influence the corporations did not want, rose and denounced the entire committee in the strongest language. He told them they were "liars," "thieves" and "robbers," and said they had all "been fixed." When you conceive how low his sense of honesty and decency was you can form some opinion of the average of the entire committee. They decided to give us another hearing that afternoon.

I then went in upon the floor of the House of Representatives. My general idea of its rottenness was confirmed. As I looked over the hall I scarcely saw the face of one honest man. The speaker of the House, the leader of the republicans, struck me as being as bad, if not worse, than his cartoons. Tall and awkward, with a face full of cunning and eyes full of deceit, he looked fit to be

the leader of the majority of the men there, irrespective of party.

That afternoon our hearing was postponed till evening, but I had the "pleasure" of listening to some corporation lawyers advocate the street-railway bill, which promised municipal ownership on its face. This bill was so much in the "interest of the people" that the street railways themselves were lobbying for it.

About one-half of the committee was on hand when we met that evening and that half had dwindled to a quarter when we finished. Two of us spoke and were again met with the same apparent attention and with the expression of "ennui." When we finished we were told that the committee would have to hear from the "other side" before expressing any opinion of the merits of our bill. The "other side" is the corporate interests, and those interests know only one argument and that is money. That argument goes farther in Springfield than any other that can be adduced.

The whole thing proved conclusively to my mind the futility of striving for legislation in the interest of the people so long as there is one corporate interest to hinder it. The wreck was caused by a private corporation trying to pay large dividends at the expense of endangering the lives of its passengers. The legislature is corrupt and rotten because it is the willing tool of the corporate interests. These men are nominated by the corporations, but are elected by the people and they are sworn to protect their interest. When at Springfield they are for sale to the highest bidder. The corporation lobbyists are with them during the entire session.

So long as there are large corporate interests will the "servants of the people" be for sale.

We must, however, put the blame where it belongs. It is not the fault of the individual, but of the system that produces both the briber and the bribed. If we do away with private ownership we will at once strike at the root of bad government and forever end the evil practices that follow in the wake of corporate interests. Instead of working for men who are pledged to the old regime, work for a party whose principles are opposed to that system and which would totally eradicate it. Work for the public ownership of the means of production and distribution and when it comes the present system will be thought of as only a bad dream.

MEETING OF THE PRIEST AND PLUTOCRAT

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

To those who do not know how the anthracite coal strike was averted the following New York special to the St. Louis Republic will be interesting:

"When I left the office of J. Pierpont Morgan I was happy with the belief there would be no strike. Today I will put it stronger. I will say I am willing to venture everything I own or may own on earth—yes, and my hope for future happiness—there will be no strike."

"Thus spoke the Rev. Father Edward S. Phillips of Hazleton, Pa., Thursday. 'Morgan is the greatest man I ever met,' said Father Phillips. 'I look upon him with wonder. In the few minutes I was with him he reached my innermost thoughts before I could express them.'

"He knew what I wanted to say, and said it better than I could. He got at the very truth of the matter in a flash."

"I had dreaded that interview with Mr. Morgan. I feared him as a great capitalist, but the moment he grasped my hand my fears were gone. In an instant I knew he was a friend of mankind who could be trusted. I do not believe a higher-minded, more conscientious man than he exists today."

"I have been a student of human nature all my life, and I know I have been correct in summing up the character of Mr. Morgan. He is the great mediator between capital and labor."

"A strike is no longer to be feared." If the priest is correctly quoted he made a "holy" exhibition of himself and it is not strange that Morgan saw through him in an instant. It doesn't take a capitalist of Morgan's caliber long to size up a sicksplitter who crawls apologetically toward his boots. Think of the miners' grievances being "arbi-

trated" by such a capitalist! Oh, for a tongue to rouse the slaves!

Mayor Jones of Toledo is in for another term. I missed my guess. I cannot help overestimating the intelligence of the working class. I will not lower the estimate, but the workers will increase their intelligence and then I'll be a prophet. In this day of political charlatanism, Mr. Jones, who is a politician without politics, is elected, while a Socialist who stands for principle and talks sense doesn't get support enough to be counted among the defeated. But it will be different by and by.

George W. Boyer, aged 80, the last surviving member of the jury which convicted John Brown, died a few days ago. I had never heard of him. Who can remember the name of a single jurymen, of the judge, or the lawyers, or anybody else connected with John Brown's capture, trial and execution? None. Every patriot who distinguished himself as the defender of "law and order" is buried in oblivion, but the soul of old John Brown, the rebel, goes marching gloriously on.

It is said that no prince or potentate ever rode in as luxuriant a train as the one that will bear President McKinley to the Pacific coast. The report says, "All that money can command has been put into the train—the finest the world has ever seen. Luxury and elegance have been called into play by the Pullman company and the special will represent an outlay of thousands of dollars. The President will sleep in the magnificent Pullman, the Olympia. A descrip-

tion of this car would fill an oriental prince with wonder."

What a treat I missed by a few votes last November! It is really too bad that I was counted out. President McKinley should enjoy the trip. Some will envy him, but they shouldn't; for he is doing his best to please the people, and the Pullman company and the railroads are doing all they can to help him. I don't suppose they charge the President any railroad or sleeping-car fare. The people would object to that, especially the wage workers who elected him; they insist on footing the bills for the special train. They know they are indebted to McKinley and his party for the privilege they enjoy of hitting the ties when they travel, and they propose to stand by their friends.

There are curses loud and deep among the Indiana miners. This means that they are waking up, and I hail every oath as a note of freedom. For three weeks they were "in joint conference" with the operators at Terre Haute. When the agreement was finally signed it provided that the miners must buy all their powder from the operators at \$1.75 per keg, notwithstanding the market price is \$1.25 and notwithstanding there is a state law which makes such a contract a felony. The operators are entirely within their rights. The Indiana miners, with few exceptions, voted last fall that their hides belonged to their capitalist masters and they should in good faith submit to the flogging. When enough of them have been skinned often enough the proceedings will cease. Till then the operators will continue to operate.

This reminds me that I am still looking for some one to tell me what part of the mine the "operator" operates. Is it the mine he "operates," or does he simply "operate" on the miners? He mines no coal, yet the coal is his, because he owns the mine. And for the same reason he also owns the miners.

Say, Mr. Miner, can you see just a little—as much as a mole? Very well, then you must see that nothing short of the ownership of that mine and the machine and mule you work with can make you your own master. Socialism will put you in possession of that mine and when you mine coal it will be your own. Your "operator" will then dig his own coal, or its equivalent. Under Socialism you will be your own operator. Until then you must slave for one, and the "operation" will continue as long as you enjoy it.

A little while ago J. Pierpont Morgan and his special train went to Washington. The next day the President announced the appointment of Philander C. Knox, Carnegie's lawyer, as attorney-general of the United States. As lawyer for the Carnegie steel works the salary of Mr. Knox was \$50,000 a year. As attorney-general it will be \$8,000. Mr. Knox is a patriot and ought to be President.

I confess to some admiration for the open and above board policy of this administration. It is living up to the high water mark of its principles and giving the people the full worth of their money.

The spring election returns are exceedingly cheering to Socialists. In every instance there was a decided increase and in some places the vote was extraordinary.

The mills of capitalism are grinding. We wait and work. However dark the past, or trying the present, the future belongs to Socialism.

April 13.

Eugene V. Debs.

But None of Them Are Socialists!

The New York Sun, a newspaper founded by a man of deep Socialist convictions, but conducted on lines of conservatism, says:

"As for the west, Tom Johnson in Cleveland and Sam Jones in Toledo are representatives of a spirit of deep and wide revolution against social and economic conditions."

Tom Johnson stands for three-cent fares in street cars, for municipal ownership of franchises, for fair treatment of workmen, for government ownership of land.

Sam Jones of Toledo has an idea there should be enough kindergartens for all little children. He believes in public baths, plenty of public parks and music in those parks.

He believes in making life cheerful for those who are less lucky than some of the rest of us. He believes in the Golden Rule, and, pushing eccentricity to the limit, accepts seriously and literally the teaching of the Founder of Christianity.

If these two men "represent deep and wide revolution against social and economic conditions," we are sure that the Sun will agree that existing social and economic conditions are badly in need of a change.—Chicago American.

When will Socialists cease to agitate? When the tides cease ebb and flow.

CATACLYSM OR EVOLUTION FROM SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT

The Mistake of Identifying Socialism with Obsolete Jacobinic Upheavals—Socialism Teaches the People to See Coming Events and Prepare for Them

BY ISADOR LADOFF

Times are changing and we change with them. It cannot be otherwise. Life itself is constant change, perpetual transformation, everlasting development. That life on earth, or, rather, its forms and manifestations, are not uniform and constant, but subjected to changes and transformations of the most pronounced character was noticed by thinkers of all ages. Observers of nature could not fail to discover that species of plants and animals existed at some periods and were replaced by quite different types at other epochs of the existence of our globe. The human mind could not, however, be satisfied with the mere statement of these facts. The religious philosophers explained the changes of forms of life on earth as the results of activity of a personal, human-like, supernatural being, as acts of consecutive creations. The earth was looked upon by them as a kind of divine experimental station, where the deity indulged in the sport of creating, destroying and creating anew different species of plants and animals according to whim and fancy. Poetical as this assumption may appear, it did not satisfy the analytical mind of modern scientists. The great French naturalist, Cuvier, for instance, advanced the semi-scientific theory of cataclysms. According to this theory, the globe is subjected to periodical violent perturbations, changing its entire surface and burying under its ruins the existing types of life. These cataclysms are followed by a long period of creative rest, during which new types of plants and animals reappear and multiply. The theory of cataclysms fails to explain the causes of the violent perturbations and presupposes the possibility of creation of living organisms out of mere debris of a dilapidated world. In some respects the Cuvier theory was less satisfactory than the previous theological, with its supernatural *deus ex machina* of a creator of something out of nothing.

Darwin (the grandfather of Charles Darwin), W. Goethe, Lamarck, Joffroi, St. Iller, Charles Darwin and other modern naturalists established firmly the theory of evolution, of gradual development of life on earth from the most simple and primitive forms to its highest type, the human race.

It would be out of place to enter here into an exhaustive exposition of the theory of evolution, this crowning glory of modern science, this highest achievement of the human mind. Our task is of a more circumscribed character and must be limited to the phenomena of social-economic life of the humankind. Mankind is but a part of animal life on earth. Obviously the philosophy of life as advanced by the Darwinian school must find its application in social economics. The last of all sciences, however, to apply evolutionary principles appears to be sociology, the science of human society. This curious fact finds its explanation in the comparative youth of the just named science and its great complexity.

The honor of the first attempt to apply evolutionary methods to the history

of men unmistakably belongs to the great founder of the materialistic conception of history, Karl Marx, as we stated in some of our previous articles in The Herald. Without the conception of human society as a product of evolution, scientific Socialism would be an impossibility. As a matter of fact, scientific Socialism is nothing else but conscious social evolutionism, a rational system of philosophy of human social life in the light of the theory of evolution. The so-called materialistic conception of history is to be called more properly the evolutionary conception of history. Indeed, to explain all changes in the social-economic life as the results of gradual development of modes of production and distribution from the simplest and therefore most stable forms to the most complex and consequently least stable means to apply evolutionary methods to social-economic sciences, if it means anything. That the evolutionary or materialistic conception of human history ought to lead to such an eminently evolutionary movement as we witness in modern Social Democracy goes without saying. Historians, economists and sociologists of the old schools could well afford to adhere either to the theological theories of the interference of a supernatural being in human affairs or adopt Cuvier's theory of cataclysms or revolutions, according to their respective personal predilections. They might consistently recognize so-called revolutions, violent social upheavals, as the efficient causes of different types of social-economic life and activity. Scientific Socialism, however, must necessarily look upon social-economic cataclysms, as the great French revolution, not as efficient causes of a change in social-economic forms of life and activity, but as their inevitable consequences. Revolts and revolutions in social life are what thunder and lightning are to atmospheric electricity. Social forces if checked and hampered by irrational and anachronistic institutions turn destructive, but destruction is not by any means the essential feature of social evolution. Social forces intelligently and rationally managed are constructive. That cataclysms in social life or revolutions are not necessarily progressive is known to every high school boy.

In view of these facts, it is rather humiliating to see and hear Socialism identified with obsolete Jacobinic cataclysmic aspirations, as it is frequently the case in our time of general confusion of causes and effects in social life. We do not mean to maintain that there will be no social cataclysms in the future, or that Socialism will necessarily be inaugurated peacefully. But scientific Socialism in its educational crusade will teach the people to see coming social events and use its clear vision for the purpose of foreseeing and avoiding, as far as possible, social cataclysms. The knowledge of social forces will enable humanity to control and direct these forces in channels of the greatest constructive usefulness. Socialistic or rather pseudo socialistic jingoism is just as contemptible as any other indulgence in irrational misuse of language.

STATE SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

State ownership and control is not necessarily Socialism—if it were, then the Army, the Navy, the Police, the Judges, the Gaolers, the Informers, and the Hangmen, all would be Socialist functionaries, as they are all State officials—but the ownership by the State of all the land and materials for labor, combined with the co-operative control by the workers of such land and materials, would be Socialism.

Schemes of state and municipal ownership, if unaccompanied by this co-operative principle, are but schemes for the perfecting of the mechanism of capitalist government—schemes to make the capitalist regime respectable and efficient for the purposes of the capitalist; in the second place they represent the class-conscious instinct of the business man who feels that capitalist should not prey upon capitalist, while all may unite to prey upon the workers. The chief immediate sufferers from private ownership of railways, canals, and telephones are the middle class shop-keeping element, and their resentment at the tariffs imposed is but the capitalist political expression of the old adage that "dog should not eat dog."

It will thus be seen that an immense

gulf separates the "nationalizing" proposals of the middle class from the "socializing" demands of the revolutionary working class. The first proposes to endow a Class State—repository of the political power of the Capitalist Class—with certain powers and functions to be administered in the common interest of the possessing class; the second proposes to subvert the Class State, representing organized society—the Socialist Republic. To the cry of the middle-class reformers, "Make this, or that, the property of the government," we reply, "Yes, in proportion as the workers are ready to make the government their property."—Workers Republic, Dublin.

The majority of the members of the Glasgow corporation have for several years past openly expressed favor with the Gothenburg system, so that it is with no surprise that we learn that a special committee has decided to recommend the corporation to approve of the principle of the municipalization of public-houses, and to apply for parliamentary powers to put the principle into operation.

Hustle for one hour a week and you would add fifty-two new subscribers to the Herald list in a year. This would be worth the Socialism that would count.

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Labor is confronted with the proposition, "Own the machine or it will own you."

The ball entertainments in the palace of the czar have made it necessary to name a successor to the reigning bear.

King Edward VII., emperor of India, reigns over more living skeletons than any other of the great monarchs of the world.

Edward VII., king of England famine favorite and emperor of India, skin and bones, drawing a salary of \$2,700,000 a year is a good job.

As compared with the priest, Father Phillips, John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, weighs considerably less than a ton.

Now that Father Phillips is in charge of the anthracite miners, it is to be hoped something resembling justice will be done for the outcast breaker boys.

Every book Andy Carnegie gives to libraries in recognition of the debt he owes to labor should have a frontispiece showing the millionaire donor picking a poor man's pocket.

The demands of labor have always been characterized by honesty and moderation, but with rare exceptions they have been met with the arrogant rebuke, "Take what you can get, or quit."

A distinguished clergyman in preaching a thanksgiving sermon rated those who advance the price of food, thereby reducing the purchasing power of a poor man's wages, as "thievery and murderous."

The education of the feeble minded by the various states may be commendable for many reasons, but that too many of the graduates are getting into the legislatures and into Congress is a foregone conclusion.

The Havana cartoonist who presented Cuba as being crucified between two thieves, McKinley and his satrap, Gen. Wood, may not have been complimentary to McKinley and the general, but it was highly suggestive nevertheless.

A writer contends that "intemperance is the great American evil." Possibly; which brings into notice the fact that the whisky trust is a great American institution from which the government derives annually more than \$150,000,000.

A local republican paper felicitated its party upon the cheering outlook for holding all it had got, with flattering prospects for securing still more. It said, "We have the banks, the churches, the saloons, the money and the guns." Can you see anything?

Events are to come as the years come. Capitalism is not to come—it is here. The only thing in connection with the monstrosity of special interest to the masses is to corner it, extract its tooth, clip its claws, take the hook out of its beak and put out its eyes. Even then it would be dangerous.

Measuring standing armies by the annual cost to the tax payers, our poor old Uncle Samuel may decorate himself with additional stars and stripes as he contemplates the fact that he is paying \$13,000,000 more than Edward VII. and only \$13,000,000 less than Kaiser William for the imperial luxury.

Legislation, owing to the fact that it is machine-made, must of necessity be experimental. Every time a congress or a legislature meets it is found that the machine requires such repairs and the introduction of new wheels and devices in the running gear as to practically create a new machine, no one knowing what sort of monstrosities will be produced. No one is longer fool enough to talk about legislation for the

"general good," but legislation by the machine, and as capitalism owns the machine, the people have about the same chance to control legislation as a cock sparrow has to direct a cyclone.

Under "reconstruction" carpet-bag government managed to steal everything but the land. It was an era of loot, a wild carnival of rapine. Under imperialism the gun takes the place of the carpet-bag institution, and late advices from one Philippine province show that the gun government, from touch-hole to muzzle, is working wonders in the interest of the empire.

Recent investigations as to soil and climate are conclusive that Porto Rico has the ability to supply the United States with all the onions the people can consume, with a large surplus for exportation to other portions of our empire. As the Porto Ricans know nothing about the Union and the Constitution, the national song will be, "The Onion Forever. We've got the dirt; we're all Americans, minus a shirt," etc.

Predictions to the effect that the twentieth century would be distinguished by great "revivals" of religion are, possibly, being fulfilled. But if a "revival of religion" means any essential difference in the condition of those who are regularly plundered of a part of their earnings, then there is nothing in sight warranting the conclusion that religion has gained any special victory over rascality since the twentieth century was ushered in.

It would be difficult to name an industrial enterprise of any description in which men far above average intelligence are not represented, and it would be equally difficult to show that these men do not disregard justice in dealing with their employees and treat with contempt all laws designed to promote the welfare of labor. These men oppose laws relating to mine and factory inspection, etc., and then violate them when it can be done with impunity.

And now comes the announcement that all the railroads of the country are to be consolidated and operated under one great continental system. It was thought that the steel trust, with its \$1,000,000,000 capital, would remain for a time unapproachable in its colossal grandeur, but the railroad combine now contemplated will dwarf the billion steel trust to comparative insignificance, giving to a few men the control of the greatest consolidation of wealth the world has ever witnessed.

William McKinley is entirely capable of using his appointing power to dehauch the integrity of the United States Supreme Court. In one case he appointed the son of Justice John M. Harlan, thirty-four years on the bench, to the office of attorney-general of Porto Rico, and the son of Justice Joseph McKenna, three years on the bench, to be inspector-general of volunteers. By such appointments McKinley evidently intended to secure two votes on any question which involved his right to run the government to suit himself, regardless of the Constitution. And the incident serves to confirm Jay Gould's idea of the prudent course to be pursued in a doubtful case—viz., "buy a judge."

The battles of the immediate future for better conditions, for better government, for a higher civilization and for the rights of labor, are to be fought out by organized money and organized ballots. Dismissing from the discussion other countries, and considering only the United States, there was never a time when organized capital was more boastful than at present. Nor has there been a time when organized ballots had a more dubious aspect—when the outlook was more gloomy. The cheering thing about the matter is that Socialism seizes this apparently inauspicious time to renew its attacks upon the strongholds of the enemy all along the line, with increased determination to win victories. Organized capital was never more arrogant than at present, and organized labor has at no period been called upon to realize the fact that its choice between unspeakable degradation and independence depends upon its choice to yield to the domination of organized capital, or fight impending battles to a finish.

The query, "Why do people go without hats and shoes and clothing and food and shelter when there is a thousand times more than enough of such things produced to supply the demand?" gets started at regular intervals and goes the rounds. While on the road there are about as many explanations as there are cases, and the result is that in due time the same query starts again and again. Socialism, in ten thousand instances, upon broad, philosophic and economic principles, has assigned the chief reason for such conditions and pointed out the remedy. Some men, in spite of hates, will always be tramps and hobos—mark that. There is another element scarcely removed from tramp and hobo, who accept conditions without protest and take what they can get, having no ambition to secure better conditions by personal effort. Such unfortunates may be dismissed without further comment. But what of the millions who have ambitions, who love in-

dependence and who profoundly lamented in lamenting about better conditions, but who, in the blindness of partisan zeal, vote for the men whose policy is to perpetuate their degradation and enslavement?

According to the Buffalo Express the Pan-American Exposition is suffering from a "hold-up" policy of certain labor interests in that city, and work on the buildings is being delayed. An usual with capitalistic journals, the Express has much to say about the "necessities of the contractors," but not a word concerning the necessities of the laborers. It compares the latter to "the highwayman who grabs a man by the throat and demands his purse," and insolently says that a workman is entitled to all he can "get" when his "demands are just," entirely overlooking the fact that his demands must conform to the ideas of justice entertained by the employing class. The workman is entitled, not to what he can "get," but to all he earns, and that is what he will get under Socialism. The ideas of justice held by the capitalist class will never establish justice or free the workingman. Socialism alone will do that.

The fact has been pointed out in many ways and on many occasions that the American home has been for many years in the grasp of forces marking its decadence, until little if anything remains of the old home as our grandfathers and grandmothers knew it. Mrs. Mary Wright Sewell, an educator of prominence, finds this true to an extent that with the decadence of the home there has been a disappearance of those "domestic arts, the industries and economics which all good women practiced a half-century ago." The process by which the "American home" has lost its primitive beauty and glory is called evolution, the same as is true in our civilization, and at the bottom of it all is capitalism. "Evolution" is an exceedingly convenient term. It is supposed to build worlds and planets from star dust. Witches make hell broth and throw into the cauldron "Eye of a newt and the toe of frog, wool of bat and tongue of dog; adder's fork and blind worm's sting, lizard's leg and owl's wing"; and "from the gruel thick and scab" evolution produces capitalism, which destroys homes, wrecks civilization and controls industries.

Perspective and Retrospective

One of Boston's fervid orators, addressing a New England club devoted to the advancement of Christian civilization in Massachusetts and other New England states, said:

"Not many generations ago, where you now sit, encircled with all that exalts and embellishes civilized life, the rank thistle nodded in the wind, and the wild fox dug his hole unscared. Here lived and loved another race of beings. Beneath the same sun that rolls over your head, the Indian lover wooed his dusky mate. Here the wigwam blaze beamed on the tender and helpless, and the council fire glared on the wise and daring. A hundred years has changed the character of a great continent and blotted forever from its face a whole peculiar people. As a race, they have withered from the land. Their arrows are broken, their springs are dried up, their cabins are in the dust. Their council fire has long since gone out on the shore and their war cry is fast fading to the untrodden west."

Now, after a period of less than three centuries, what is seen? New England, in all her rural districts, is going back to the wilderness—and rich men are purchasing for a song old, worn-out farms, which are transformed into game preserves.

The factory has taken the place of the wigwam, and the factory bell that of the savage war whoop. Instead of the noble red man who could be neither enslaved nor civilized nor educated by the New England Puritans, and who, wild and untaught, saw through the Christian's scheme to rob them of their hunting grounds and means of sustenance, kill them or drive them into strange lands to perish.

What is the character of the retributive justice which is following New England? Her thousand or five thousand factories are so many prisons for the wage slaves of capitalism. Utterly unable to produce sufficient food to supply her people, New England has reached the climax of wealth and woe, progress and poverty, which prompted Edward Atkinson to furnish the figures to prove that a wage slave could live on a meal costing not more than five cents. Whatever may have been the boast of New England in the past, her glory has departed, and as the years advance, judging the future by the past, the time is not far away when the people of New England will vote to secure independence by the invincible power of the ballot and the establishment of Socialism.

Finding the Basis

Leaving out of the discussion all that is abstruse, hidden or profound, beyond the grasp of science and philosophy, and considering only that which is obvious, and barren of mystery—the inquiry is, What is the basis of the world's progress, such as it has been, and such as we find it today? The answer is labor.

It is difficult to conceive of a sewer-venter fool so foolish as to deny that labor is the universal basis of all that has been built and preserved in the past, all that exists today and all that is hoped for in the future. The most arrogant knave, that ever schemed to rob labor of its earnings knows that labor creates the old Latin proverb, "Labor omnia vincit"—labor conquers everything—builds everything, and that without labor the world would perish.

The world is constantly reminded of the truth in ten thousand ways every day, and as if its achievements, found everywhere monumental along the track of civilization, were not enough to settle the question beyond all controversy, the trophies of labor, won in every field of art and endeavor, are gathered into the world's expositions, national and international, for the admiration of all beholders.

All this is current history—plain and patent, admitting of no controversy, as self-evident as any axiom, and establishes labor as the basis of all progress and prosperity which the world hopes to enjoy in all coming years.

The sad reflection attending the discussion of the labor basis is that labor does not grasp the fact. If labor could be animated by the potentiality of its power, and could be unified for putting it in operation, the term "labor basis" would at once take its place among the irrevocable powers and hold its place as immovable as the laws of gravitation. That this may come, as come it will, is the shibboleth of Socialism.

Time

Evidently men become impatient because great undertakings are not accomplished in a brief space of time. We repeat the old aphorism—"Rome was not built in a day"—but it does not modify the eagerness and unrest of the mind. We want things to move at a more rapid pace. Some people would like to crowd two or a half dozen years into one, but in this regard if the impossible could be accomplished, nothing would be gained. We may divide and sub-divide time, make minutes years or years minutes, and still things would move along as before. The same is true of space; we may divide it for our convenience, but whether we say the Atlantic ocean is one mile wide or three thousand miles wide, makes no difference. We just have the present. Socialists take no stock in the dead past. They permit it to bury its dead. There is no future. When fancied "tomorrow" comes it is today. Everything that is done is done today. "A moment lost is gone forever." It is not worth while to moralize nor sing psalms to dead years or engage in homiletics—conditions are altogether too serious, too practical, too exacting. Things are in a condition to demand thought, work, watchfulness. That is what Socialists are doing. True, a man may plant today, in the hope of reaping tomorrow, but he cannot expect to reap tomorrow if he does not plant today. The past is a dream, the future a delusion. Today is ours. We are told that "one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." Possibly. Socialists have determined to so utilize their todays that when the "thousand year" day comes they will be ready to take advantage of it, regain the tools that have been stolen from labor, and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth.

Our Economic King

The following highly interesting schedule of the properties controlled by J. Pierpont Morgan is published and going the rounds of the newspapers. The Herald prints it in the hope that it may interest the laboring man who earns \$2 per day:

Steel trust.....	\$1,540,000,000
Coal trust.....	862,942,358
Standard Oil trust.....	717,735,000
Railroad stocks.....	2,954,907,600
Underwriting syndicate.....	200,000,000
Dry goods.....	20,000,000
Underground electric lines.....	30,000,000
Banks.....	30,000,000
Telegraph lines.....	150,000,000
U. S. bonds.....	50,000,000
Publishing and other enterprises.....	15,000,000

Total.....\$7,570,584,958

Estimated total wealth of the United States.....\$85,075,813,980

Estimated proportion engaged in business interests.....21,268,953,495

Proportion now controlled by Morgan.....Over one third

Estimated time in which Morgan will control entire business interests in the United States at present rate of progress.....11 years

Interest on capital controlled by Morgan for one year at 5 per cent.....\$378,529,247.40

Assessed valuation Chicago property.....\$345,196,419.00

For a laboring man who work 300 days in a year, at \$2 per day, to earn the amount of interest collected in one year by capital which Morgan represents it would take over 630,882 years

POLITICAL JUGGLERY LAST FALL IN TEXAS

Social Democratic Party Vote Wiped Out by the Boss and Reaction of Bryanism

It will be remembered that after the presidential election last fall The Herald called attention to the small vote credited to the Social Democratic party in several states, and among these mentioned Texas as one where our vote was ridiculously small in comparison with what we had good reason to expect. Comrade Calvin Ross of that state has just published in the Brazen Serpent a statement which will interest Social Democrats throughout the country. It goes a long way to prove our previous declarations that the Social Democratic party was the victim of systematic and extensive robbery at the hands of the politicians of the Democratic party in Texas. This was not done directly by appropriating our party votes and adding them to their own, but by reporting, what was doubtless to a very great extent the vote for Eugene V. Debs for president, under the head of "Scattering." Comrade Ross illustrates clearly and convincingly the wholesale character of this political trick by citing from the official records in the secretary of state's office the vote of Bexar county. There were six state tickets in the field, each having its candidate for governor and presidential electors. One of these was the Social Democratic party. The county cast a total vote of 10,118, divided, according to the records in the state secretary's office, as follows:

Democrat.....	5,375
Republican.....	3,762
Peoples.....	28
Prohibitionist.....	52
Socialist Labor party.....	62
SCATTERING.....	839

Total.....10,118
Here we have five parties named and credited with votes; three of these have less than a hundred each and a total of 142. The Social Democratic party, which was on the ticket, has no votes at all; but although all other parties are accounted for, there is a "Scattering" vote of 839, or nearly six times as many as are reported for the three minor parties officially recognized!

Reviewing the facts as to the entire state of Texas, Comrade Ross finds that this "Scattering" vote reached the remarkable total of 83,876, and, claiming that these figures represent the actual Social Democratic party vote, he justly concludes "that the dominant party in control tried in every possible way to keep the facts from the public."

The principal town in Bexar county, and one of the largest in the state, is San Antonio. At that place we know that votes were given to the Social Democratic ticket, since we had a branch of devoted comrades located there. This is corroborative of the correctness of Comrade Ross' astonishing statement. From very many localities in Texas The Herald last fall received complaints from persons who, having voted the Social Democratic ticket, affirmed that no votes were reported. Such a condition of things is a disgrace to the state of Texas and the Democratic party which boasts of its championship of individual rights and free institutions. It is explanatory of the light vote of Texas for the Social Democratic party and every man in the Lone Star state who participated in an achievement so astounding to the hirelings of capitalism that it was juggled into insignificance under the head of "Scattering," will be doubly alert in all coming elections for the cause of Socialism.

A Word to the Rich

"You who have well-equipped homes and drawing rooms, you with your concert appointments and Thomas' orchestra, do you think that the people of the Seventeenth ward, the river ward, do not appreciate good music and beautiful art when they have a chance? I tell you to come to our meetings and hear those people discuss Shakespeare with Professor James of the University of Chicago. If you wish, take your chance with those sons of toil in the Tuesday night meetings and find out how well you can hold your own in the discussion of such questions as the railroad franchise.
"If you could have been present last Christmas when the Apollo club sang the 'Messiah' in our auditorium at the new commons; if you could have seen that mass of people stand up to do reverence to the grand chorus, there would have been tears in your hearts and you would have known that the ability to pay \$1 or \$5 for a chance to hear such music is not essential to its enjoyment."
—Graham Taylor.

Carroll D. Wright, in the thirteenth annual report, page 423, shows that the total cost of transporting passengers in the United States is from 21-100 to 14-100 of 1 cent a mile.

How much time can you give to hustling in new subscribers? Just a little work on the part of comrades whose paper this is would make it the top-seller. One hour a week and a few hundred live ones would do the trick.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

BY E. IVAN TOMANOV

The real strength of the Social Democracy in Germany is not to be measured adequately by the number of seats that are occupied by its representatives in the Reichstag. One is in serious danger of being misled as to the real standing of the party if one considers merely the fact that it has 56 members in the Reichstag out of a total of 397. These 56 social democratic members represent, it must be remembered, a vote of 2,100,000, or nearly 28 per cent of the total vote cast in the election of 1918. The discrepancy is the result of a clever manipulation of the voting districts, whereby the rapidly growing cities, which have hitherto furnished the vast bulk of Social Democratic representation, are allowed today precisely the same numerical strength in the Reichstag that they had at the beginning of the federated existence of the empire, when the urban population was out of comparison with its present size. This increment of the cities has gravitated for the most part from the country districts. These latter have lost population enormously in comparison; but they are entitled to as many representatives as they had in the beginning. One of two things is destined to happen in the near future, which will have the effect of giving to the Social Democracy something like a clear majority; either the system of districts will be changed, so as to give the cities a representation in proportion to their population; or else the Social Democracy will enter upon an energetic campaign in the country districts. The latter alternative will involve some serious questions of party policy.

A section of the German Social Democracy regards with outspoken mis-

givings the tendency of the party to work along evolutionary lines, instead of adhering to the primitive doctrines of Lassalle. So far as the present day workings of the Social Democrats are concerned the party is essentially a party of evolution. It employs the instrument of parliamentarism with effectiveness, and is content to wait the day when the logic events shall drive the existing system of capitalism to the wall, by depriving it consecutively of all motives for continuing its operations. An emphatic group of the party has no patience with parliamentarism, and declares that the Social Democracy must return to its earlier teachings. It is this difference of opinion that has given some apparent color to the prediction of the impending disruption of the party. This view of the destiny of the Social Democracy is combated most effectively by the Kaiser's attitude toward the party. The increasingly narrow construction of the laws of lese majeste by the German courts, doubtless deriving their inspiration from the head of the German government, is a lucid and convincing betrayal of the fact that the Kaiser, at least, does not regard Social Democracy as being on the eve of dissolution as a political party. In the absence of any special legislation against the Social Democrats, the German courts and the German police are taxing their ingenuity to construe existing laws in such a manner as to exert the greatest possible weight upon the Social Democracy. An unguarded comment, a shrug of the shoulders, a grimace, or a jest is construed by court and constables as an insult to the person of the emperor, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

refuse to put their Jimmies and Jacks into the Pool, we will send Agents into their respective Territories to steal up everything before they can get at it, thus teaching them the Beauties of Co-Operation. We will compel them to eat Humble Pie and get into the Band Wagon on our Terms."

"It looks Good," said the Burglar, "and I suppose it will be sufficiently Illegal to make it Enjoyable."

"The Legality of the Deal cuts no Figure so long as we are not Landed," said the Organizer. "There will be a Crackerjack Lawyer, employed by the Year, whose one Duty it will be to keep the Directors out of Jail. If there is any Hue and Cry against the Monopoly, we can get some one with white Side-Whiskers to be interviewed, and he will explain why it will be better for the People to have their Houses entered by the Representatives of a large and carefully managed Corporation."

"This will certainly be Lavender for those who get in on the Ground Floor," said the Burglar. "But why are you, without any Private Interest as a Porch-Climber or any Experience in picking Locks, so eager to promote this Scheme?"

"It will be a Stock Company, and for my Services in getting you together in this benevolent Combination I will grab off two-thirds of the Shares," replied the Organizer. "I am learning that the High Guy these days is not the Producer. The real Patsy is the one who calls for a Jack Pot and then takes charge of the Kitty. You go out and tell all your Competitors to get into Line. I need the Stuff."

And another Industrial Alliance was kept out of the Newspapers.

MORAL: Everything is Velvet to those who take no Chances.

Persistence of Racial Prejudice

For fifty years or more the equality of men in natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has been emphasized in this country. The press, the pulpit, the platform, and the forum of Congress have rung with eloquent appeals in behalf of that principle. It was one of the pivotal thoughts in the minds of the Northern people during the Civil War. The Constitution of the United States was amended to give it legal embodiment and standing before the nation. Yet what have we seen during the past few years in some sections of this country? Entire States prostituting their legislatures and constitutional conventions to the mean and ignoble work of proscribing and disfranchising one-half of their population on account of the racial blood in their veins and the color of their skin. Mobs, with a ferocity exceeding that of bloodhounds, joining in the hunt of black men, merely suspected of crime in some cases, and, when caught, their victims chained to iron stakes, then mutilated and tortured, and then burned to death.

If prejudice and intolerance are to be exterminated, the process must be begun early in the life of the individual. The rights of men must be taught and enforced upon the minds of youth. Any society, institution, or church which inculcates intolerance toward those differing from it in faith or practice is inflicting irreparable injury upon the nature of those coming under its influence. Intolerance sours, contracts, and dwarfs the spirit of any man who nourishes it.—Rochester Democrat-Chronicle.

Chicago American's "Socialism"

Says the American on the subject of underpaid judges:

"When the steel trust pays Mr. Schwab a million dollars a year to run its business it is because the unsentimental men who own that monopoly think that the man's work is worth the price.

"The rise in the general scale of salaries of which the Schwab case is the most conspicuous example suggests the question whether Uncle Sam may not have to conform to the times before long by revising some features of his own wage scale.

"For instance, the chief justice of the United States gets \$10,500 a year and each of the associate justices \$10,000. Mr. Schwab could pay the combined salaries of all the justices of the United States Supreme court for a year out of his salary for five weeks and have over \$5,000 left.

"The steel trust and the Standard Oil trust and the combined twelve billion dollar railroad trust will have many cases before the Supreme court of the United States. Is it wise or just to pay the judges who will have to decide those cases less than the trusts pay to their head bookkeepers?

"If there is any justice of the Supreme court who could not make at least \$30,000 a year by private law practice he is unfit for his position. Most of the justices have sacrificed practices worth considerably more than that."

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CAPITALIST EXPANSION AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Democracy knows no barrier to empire or empires. All emperors, from Octavian Augustus down to Napoleon III, climbed to the throne on the back of democracy. But the modern imperialist problem does not necessarily mean emperors. It is the problem of how the world can be ordered by great powers of practically international extent, for the benefit of the trade of certain nations. The reason for it is this: Civilized nations during the last half of the nineteenth century, arrived at a degree of internal industrial and political development far beyond the primitive political ideas of the founders of the United States, or even of the German empire. The partition of the greater part of the globe among such powers is a matter of fact that must be faced, whether we approve or disapprove, for it is only the outcome of the modern economic conditions. Capitalism produces more under the wage system than can be consumed at home, and therefore the capitalist must look for foreign markets. That is the motive of modern expansion and imperialism.

Now, in this country, which alone comprises half of the continent, we are so happily situated that we could coolly look on while all the great European powers came to blows for slices of trade to feed their capitalists with. This is nominally a democratic country, and all our capitalists should be satisfied with the exploitation of this continent, and, possibly, South America. But capitalism is greedy, and our capitalist is as hungry for slices of China or of Africa as he is for the English or German traders. And our so-called representatives in Washington and elsewhere virtually represent the capitalist class only. A democracy is impossible where the masses have not a security or livelihood and are in such a condition as they are here. We are in reality a plutocracy, no matter how the constitution reads.

It seems to be the steady policy of the working class in this country during the last fifty years to maintain a rich class for the sake of getting employment, either directly or through a mass of shop keepers who are mostly unnecessary, and if the wage workers in this country do not mend their ways soon they will reap what they have sown and lose the political rights which they have not known how to use.

The question for us is, then, either we must go forward to Social Democracy, or we will go backward to an empire ruled by a money oligarchy—the worst form of government that ever existed. As to Europe, there they will have a Social Democracy sooner or later. Emperor William is working hard for that.

Victor L. Berger.

The Modern Revolutionist

The trust is turning things topsy turvy; it is the great modern revolutionist. The trusts make much more rapid progress than popular comprehension of them does. The capitalization of these trade combinations proceeds not by millions but by billions. Everybody sees that they are engrossing the national resources and the business of the country—that in confederation with the railroad companies, they form a power with which individual competition is impossible and against which the existing machinery of the law is impotent. Alarm and anger are widespread, and spreading.

In reality the trust is not evil. It is not an excrescence, but a normal product of modern conditions—a legitimate child of steam and electricity. To claim against the trust's existence, and to endeavor to restore the business conditions to which it has succeeded, is as insensible as it would be were New York, after building Brooklyn bridge, to fall into a rage because people used it to cross the river in preference to the ferry steamers.

The popular anti-trust sentiment is the rioting against the introductions of the spinning jenny over again. The trusts are as truly a labor-saving development as is any device which in any factory does that by machinery which before was done by hand.

Evolution in the business domain under our civilization is as ruthless as in the animal world. The death-dealing law of the survival of the fittest for the environment is inexorable. Superfluous animals die dumbly; men are able to give voice to their sufferings and to protest against fate. The sky is brass equally to each. But the suasion of competition prevails over pity, which is a humane sentiment, and humane sentiments are incompatible with business success. Quarrel with this and you quarrel with modern civilization.—Arthur McEwen.

There are some things so superbly ridiculous as to be proof against all the shafts that irony, sarcasm, wit and ridicule can hurl against them. As, for instance, the organization of the employees of the anthracite coal mines at an immense cost to be a branch of Mr. John Mitchell's United Mine Workers' organization on April 1, 1901, having the organization perfected, the anthracite coal operators and owners were invited to a conference with the officials. They treated the invitation with derision and contempt, and a great funk was the result.

THE HERALD FORUM

Contributions for the Herald Forum should be sent to the Editor, Social Democratic Herald, 117 Park Street, New York City.

"Who Will Do the Dirty Work?"

It is quite the latest nowadays to ask: Who is going to do the "dirty work" under Socialism? Why, if the Morgans, Vanderbilts, Goulds, Sages and a few more of this class are found to be more muscular than intellectual, it is possible that a job cleaning the polluted rivers, sewers and canals may be jobs where they can exercise their muscle a bit in order to keep in good physical trim. Every man who makes dirt should in some way or other take a prominent part in cleaning it up, and I cannot see that the "400," whether sugared or cologned, have any different physical functions than the ashman or sewer cleaner. I suppose there is a class arising who are becoming so lazy that some one will have to be employed to remove their shoes and stockings and wash their faces, besides numerous other work which is the proper functions of individuals themselves to perform instead of having wage slave servants.

Permit me to say that there is no such thing as dirty work. The garbage man collecting our ashes and table refuse is notoriously neglected in being considered as an outcast from society, together with being paid starvation wages of \$6 to \$9 a week, while other officials receive thousands of dollars yearly for little or nothing. The ashman is considered a nobody, but he is certainly a jewel in comparison to tuberculosis, smallpox and typhoid, diseases which the best of modern scientists claim to be little less than common filth diseases, resulting from internal causes or more generally from polluted and unhealthy surroundings. Such being the case, is not the ashman one of the hygienic heroes of modern times?

Then if the ashman is a hero, the washer-woman, dish-washer, sewer and street cleaners are also heroes, and all attending to the duties of keeping things clean are certainly just as worthy a class to receive the best remuneration, which will enable them to live in sanitary dwellings and wear several changes of clean linen so as to enable them to move in just as good and clean society as those who imagine themselves their superiors.

With all the disdainment of doing the "dirty work," let some one just advertise for one or two thousand scavengers at \$4 or \$5 a day, and we can bet that ten thousand men will apply for the job by letter or in person, and that amongst the applicants will be shyster lawyers, quack doctors and numerous other professional men, including graduates of our high institutions of learning by the score. And still, it is asked: "Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?"

The overthrow of nations and empires has been wrought through standing idly and asking: "Who will do the dirty work?" Dirt is only a good thing out of place. The tramp and millionaire are only the scum of society, but would be useful wealth producers and members of society if put properly to work.

Newark, N. J.

N. O'Connell.

Christianity and Socialism

Not being a Christian, perhaps some would ask what this subject has got to do with me. But, being a Socialist to the backbone, I am entitled to speak on any subject which by any one else is coupled with Socialism. Some of our friends in the cause are great sticklers for what they call "Christian Socialism." One might with as much reason speak of "Buddhist Socialism," or I might insist on "Atheistic Socialism." To my mind, "Socialism" is sufficient to express our aim, whether we be Christians or atheists, or whatever our theological opinions may be. We are Socialists, and as such we have certain ideas in common, and in our Socialist work there is no need to endeavor to foist upon Socialism and each other our own particular theological creed. A man's creed is a personal matter. It is his business. And what does "Christian Socialism" mean, anyway? We know what Socialism is; but I, for one, would be glad if our orthodox friends would say just what they mean by Christianity, for should a man attack what he takes for Christianity, he is sure to be told by some one, "Oh, you are not attacking real Christianity." This is my experience.—"Boko," in the Clarion.

The day after Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan had his conference with President McKinley the attorney-generalship of the United States was offered Mr. Philander C. Knox. The day after Mr. Morgan sails for Europe Mr. Knox accepts the offer. The biggest of all trusts has one of its chief attorneys at the head of the department of justice in the national government.

If one thousand Social Democrats would get a move on for one hour a week and read the Herald, there would be \$2,000 subscribers gained for the paper in one year. Isn't that worth while?

LOCAL BRANCHES

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, meets every Sunday and Wednesday evening, commencing May 1st. Admission free. Meetings open to all, and every Thursday evening.

Membership, Social Democrats should free to each member, 25 cents per month.

Apply to the secretary, John C. Wootley, 117 Park Street, New York City.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock, at Woodmen's Hall, 1244 Spring Street. J. A. Brown, secretary.

Branch No. 2, San Francisco (German), holds business meeting first Sunday in each month at 8 o'clock p. m., at 127 Turk Street. Admission free on third Sunday evening, same place, to which public is invited. August P. Mayer, secretary, 126 Park Street.

COLORADO

Branch No. 2, Goldfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. LaKamp, secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Friday of each month at 7 p. m., at P. Schaffers, 100 Main Street, Hartford. Louis Herrup, secretary, 41 Kinsey Street, Hartford.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, meets second and fourth Fridays at Link's Hall, up stairs. Secretary, Richard Niederwieser, Box 70.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn Street.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m., at Nagl's Hall, 222 Blue Island Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m., in Dunder's place, 180 W. 15th place. Joseph Dunder, secretary.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 2 p. m., at Pieser's Hall, corner Center Avenue and 19th Street. James Rohak, secretary, 223 Throop Street.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 a. m., at 222 Lincoln Street. J. A. Amberg, secretary, 400 Wabash Street.

Branch No. 2, Chicago, meets at Uhlhorn's Hall, corner 22d Street and Center Avenue, first and third Saturdays. Gus Larson, secretary, 222 Center Avenue.

Branch 4 (Slovakian) meets every third Sunday in the month at Pieser's Hall, corner Michigan and 11th place. Camil Rohak, secretary, 127 Stanwood Avenue.

Branch No. 8 (German), Chicago, meets every other Saturday at 8 p. m., at A. Jankowski's place, 204 W. 21st Street. Lewis Levitt and Oakley, A. Gelsier, secretary, 726 W. 25th Street.

Branch No. 6 (11th Ward), Chicago, Ill., meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at Hildebrand's Hall, a. e. corner of Paulina and 21st Sts. Secretary, P. J. Kuhn, 791 Blue Island Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon at each Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble Streets. Address all communications to the secretary of the State executive board, Thomas Patton, 202 Warren Avenue.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hileman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at Opera House. James Baxter, chairman; Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 121.

KENTUCKY

Branch 1, Newport, meets first Thursday evening at 8 p. m., and third Sunday afternoon, at Sanftleben Hall, northeast corner Seventh and Central Avenue. Address: A. L. Nagel, 23 W. Second Street.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 1, Hulyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Cambridge, organizer, 22 Jackson Street.

Branch No. 2, Roxbury, meets at 24 Warren Street, second and fourth Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at 8 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street. In the International Central Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in the month at Fred Gosswela, on Main Street. A. Kingsbury, secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 2, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Mondays, at 8 p. m., at Haldermann's Hall, 224 South Seventh Street.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block. G. Frankel, secretary, 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2, meets first and third Sundays each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Newark, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 47 Livingston Street.

Branch No. 2, Camden, meets every third Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1204 Knight's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German), Newark, meets every third Saturday at International Hall, 7 Bedford Street. Hans Hartwig, secretary, 7 Bedford Street.

Branch No. 4 (German), Paterson, meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m., at Hivery Sunday morning at 10:00 a. m., at 100 North Street. Karl Lindner, secretary, 246 Edmund Street.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York meets every second Tuesday at 411 Grand Street, Windsor Hall.

East Side Branch, No. 1, meets every first and third Thursday at 8:30 East Broadway. L. Rothman, secretary, 120 Norfolk Street.

Branch No. 4, Brooklyn, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 14 Moore Street. Visitors welcome. Carries dealing to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol Pressman, 100 Broom Street.

Branch No. 10, meets every Friday at 8 p. m., at 20 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 26 Henry Street.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richollen Hall, southeast corner 5th and Plum Streets, every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Theo. McKern, secretary, 22 Laurel Street.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, corner 3d and Flanders Streets. Everybody invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortier, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at 23 E. Third Street. Rose Blotnick, Treasurer, 515 Pine Street.

Branch No. 4, Conoverport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. U. L. Hall, Chas. Knapp, chairman; L. H. Morse, secretary; Ben. Codrington, treasurer.

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—executive meeting at 8 p. m., at 20 E. 11th Street. P. Club Rooms, at 424 E. 2d Street. Organizer, M. Gillis, at Reed Street.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 p. m. in Social Labor Hall, No. 2 E. 2d Street. G. E. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 723 2d Street. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Mondays of the month at Dreyer's Hall, southeast corner 4th and Chestnut Streets.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Keller's Hall, 4th Street, between State and Franklin, every fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and third Saturdays in Gaylord's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Avenue. Frank Liebsch, secretary.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Concordia Hall, Chas. Plaut, Secretary-Treasurer, 911 Lincoln Avenue.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Fridays each month at Weller's Hall, corner 2d and Brown Streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 22 2nd Street.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at E. Rigels Hall, southeast corner Orchard Street and 9th Avenue. J. Lucil, 22 Orchard Street, secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursdays of each month at Volkman's Hall, 2nd and Center Streets, at 8 p. m. Secretary, C. Keadel, 100 2nd Street.

Branch No. 25, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at 24 Clark Street. Herman Schneider, secretary, 424 2d Street.

Branch No. 24, Kiel, Wis., meets every second and fourth Saturdays at Fremont Hotel, Edgar F. Lindner, Secretary.

Branch No. 26, Milwaukee, meets first and third Fridays of each month at Campbell's Hall, Concordia and Green Bay Avenue. J. Lucil, 22 Orchard Street, secretary.



AROUND THE WORLD

The American Soap Manufacturing Association was organized as a result of a meeting in Chicago of representatives of thirty-five of the largest soap-manufacturing concerns in the country.

The municipal elections have been held at Copenhagen. The liberals and Social Democrats ran a joint list of candidates and returned these by 15,700 votes against 10,400 given to the conservative candidates.

On page 423 of the labor commissioner's report for the year 1898 we learn that the labor cost of shipping freight in this country is less than 10 cents a ton for 100 miles. Thus a car of twenty tons load for 100 miles costs \$3. See what it will cost you to charter the car for that weight for 100 miles.

The German minister of war has instituted proceedings against Vorwärts for publishing letters from China in which the atrocities committed by the troops at the instigation of "God's faithful ally" are related. But "there are judges at Berlin," and the result of the trial will probably make the government regret its action.

A correspondent of Le Peuple (Brussels) draws attention to the way in which the law forbidding the employment of young children in factories is evaded. Instead of the children working in a factory they work at home, and under those circumstances the law does not apply. The men and women working at home receive in many cases only 1 franc (10d.) a day.

Vorwärts publishes a protest—signed by many Russians—against the brutalities of the Russian police and Cossacks at St. Petersburg. Many students have been arrested not only at St. Petersburg but also in the provincial universities, and at Odessa 100 persons and at Riga 300 are in prison. No wonder when these arbitrary arrests take place that we hear of assassinations and plots.

A movement has been inaugurated in York, Pa., having in view the organization under one management of all the independent telephone lines in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia. The new company will be capitalized at \$27,000,000, and its promoters contemplate that it will ultimately embrace under one management all the lines in the United States.

A recent article in the Berlin Tageblatt takes a gloomy view of the industrial conditions in Germany. It says: "It is safe to say that a quarter of the working people are either idle or insufficiently employed. There is little prospect of an improvement in the situation. The situation is made more serious by the uncertainty of Germany's commercial policy. The numberless industries of the country do not know whether disastrous tariff wars will not destroy the work of years."

The charter fee paid to New Jersey by the United States steel corporation amounted to over \$220,000. It is estimated that the treasury of the state will this year receive \$2,100,000 from the trusts domiciled there alone, including fees paid on filing certificates of trust incorporations. And the present costs of the state government are less than \$3,000,000 yearly. In other words, New Jersey is meeting over two-thirds of the expense of its state government from the trusts it has let loose to operate in other states.

United States Labor Commissioner Wright sets forth some very interesting facts. Aided by machinery, he says, 4,500,000 men turn out a product which would require the labor of nearly 40,000,000 men if produced by hand. In America the advantage derived from machinery is about twice as great as in Europe, so that the actual population of the United States is equal in productive power to 150,000,000 Europeans. With labor-saving machinery one generation of men can do the work of four or five generations of handworkers.

Early in this century a well-known citizen of Boston will perfect his invention for the conversion of carbon coal directly into electricity without the use of fire. He has already made a laboratory success of this; he will make it an industrial and commercial success. There are countless millions of money already committed to the enterprise and dancing attendance on his genius. This invention will make every ton of coal thirty or forty times as effective as now; our annual product of some 200,000,000 will become the equivalent of 10,000,000,000.—Henry D. Lloyd.

No one will want to steal under Socialism, because it will be cheaper for people to earn what they want than to steal it. Under the best conditions for organization in farming at the present time (U. S. official statistics), labor can produce twenty bushels of wheat for 66 cents, or 3 1/3 cents a bushel. This was done on a bonanza farm of 10,000 acres in California and was the average cost for the whole product of the farm. Five bushels of wheat will make a barrel of flour, and the by-product of bran, etc., will more than pay cost of milling it. At

3 1/3 cents a bushel for the wheat, the barrel of flour would cost less than 20 cents, and allow for wear of machinery, when produced under the best state of organization, or Socialism. Could any man afford to steal a barrel of flour at that price?

The Standard Oil company has agreed to pay \$5,000,000 for a patent controller by Salt Lake men, according to a dispatch to the San Francisco Chronicle. The invention is a device to convert petroleum into a gas that produces intense heat and light at a cost infinitely smaller than by any other known process. It is claimed the light is stronger than that of the electric arc and tests are said to show that as much heat can be obtained by this method from a barrel of crude oil as is ordinarily obtained from a car load of coal. The patent is controlled by a corporation which acquired from Albert Hayes, the inventor, the control of the invention on payment of \$10,000 cash and \$20,000 for perfecting the patent in other countries. The Standard Oil company contemplates pushing the invention solely as a heat generator.

The depopulation of India through famine and cholera is assuming alarming proportions. The latest advices from Simla say the census returns of the central provinces show a decrease of over 1,000,000 since 1891, when an increase of 1,500,000 might have been expected. It is estimated that 5,000,000 have died in India since 1896 from causes directly due to the famine. In western India things are even worse. The Oodeypoor state returns show a decrease of 840,000, or 45 per cent of the population; the state of Bhopal shows a decrease of 808,000; the district of Banda shows a decrease of 124,000, and so on; in Bombay city the population will have diminished by 50,000. The localities which escaped the plague show a satisfactory, though incomensurate, increase—for instance, Madras, which has gained 8 per cent over 1891.

British Gods and Dutch

We have heard a great deal of late about God's Englishman, and our saintly men of God have been loudly proclaiming the gospel of the domination of the noble Anglo-Saxon race, predestined by Providence to hold sway over all the earth. According to this gospel we are the chosen race, the only race among all mankind which has found grace in the sight of the Creator. All other races have been allowed to people different parts of the earth only until such time as God's Englishman needs them. When that time arrives, God's Englishman, clad in khaki or shoddy, bred and born in a slum and reared on offal, sallies forth, and armed with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, to say nothing of such minor accessories as magazine rifles, dum-dum bullets and lyddite shells, falls upon the heathen, be he Boer or Blackamoor, an smites him hip and thigh, amid the rhapsodical jubiliations of the saintly men of God, who look on from a safe distance. Sometimes the heathen in his blindness, not being gifted with the Christian grace of forgiveness, disdains to turn the other cheek to the smiter, but smites back instead with considerable effect. Then the saintly men of God raise dreadful howls against the heathen, and urge the slum-bred scions of the imperial race to smite back some more. But it never occurs to them that they may have made a mistake, and that the Englishman is not God's especial protegee after all. Now, however, our comrade Wilhelm sets himself to correct their error, and with prophetic inspiration informs the world that it is the German and not the Englishman who is under the special fostering care of the Most High. "The Eternal God in heaven," he says, "since the days of the great elector and the great king, always been the powerful ally of the German army." "After all, there is nothing very new in this, for the old German song tells us that 'Gott im Himmel Lieder singt,' but it is as well that our blood-besotted jingoes should be reminded, by so eminent authority as the kaiser, that the Deity is not English, but German.—London Justice.

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The growing power of the President in the matter of making appointments, civil and military, is justly creating alarm. These appointments in the various departments of the government are estimated at 3,500, requiring the expenditure of more than \$20,000,000 a year—or \$80,000,000 in four years. These appointments and the distribution of the vast sum of money strengthen the hold of the republican party upon the throats of the people, and pave the way for the inauguration of the empire.

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NOTES FROM THE FIELD

A new English-speaking branch at Patterson, N. J., held a meeting last Monday with Comrade Kraft of Jersey City as the speaker.

Comrade Corinne Brown is announced to speak on the "Civic Conscience" at Aurora, Ill., April 25, under the auspices of the Young Men's Club.

The comrades at Cincinnati are thoroughly alive and holding interesting meetings. Comrade McSweeney writes most encouragingly of their devotion and activity.

In the city election at Joplin, Mo., the Social Democratic candidate for mayor received 272 votes, nearly trebling the vote of last November. Sixty-two straight party ballots were cast.

Official returns of the election at Holliston, Mass., show two Social Democrats elected, Charles A. Crowley as assessor by a vote of 322 and Arthur L. Harriman constable with a vote of 298.

Comrade F. O. MacCartney is announced to speak at the South Braintree, Mass., Congregational Church Sunday evening, April 21, on the subject, "What Industrial System Would Jesus Commend?"

The Social Democrats of St. Louis ran up against public ownership and a public-ownership movement that polled nearly 30,000 votes, and received 827 votes, about one-half the vote of last November for Debs.

The Winnetka branch, S. D. P., held an open meeting at the home of Comrade Anna R. Weeks Monday evening, April 8. Comrade Corinne S. Brown addressed the meeting, dwelling on the material basis of history and the development of the civic conscience. The meeting was well attended and great interest evinced by the young people. Two new members joined the branch.

At a regular meeting of the Terre Haute branch James Oneal, after reading from extracts from the works of Karl Marx, spoke on "Surplus Value; How Labor is Robbed," which was liberally applauded by those present. S. M. Reynolds and others participated in the discussion that followed. Methods of propaganda in the coal fields surrounding the city were also discussed, it being the sense of the members that the agitation should commence as soon as the weather permits. It is the intention of the branch to hold meetings and organize branches of the party among the miners this summer, as urgent requests have been received for organizers and speakers in these districts.

Organization Fund

Since the last report the following amounts have been received on the national organization fund:

O. B. Wiggins	\$.25
W. H. Everitt	.25
Oliver Williams	.25
Corinne S. Brown	5.00
C. Peterson	1.00
H. C. Perry	5.00
Branch 4, Massachusetts, by J. P. Fatigan	5.00
Total	\$16.75

The Chicago Vote

The vote for the candidates of the Social Democratic party by wards on the Chicago city ticket follows:

Ward	Hoyt	Tyl	Soelke	West-phal
1	20	11	12	11
2	35	14	12	13
3	18	9	6	11
4	27	18	22	19
5	34	20	35	31
6	7	8	25	14
7	95	22	21	20
8	26	23	25	22
9	82	308	48	60
10	212	496	241	241
11	118	408	93	120
12	168	387	167	176
13	20	7	9	34
14	51	39	44	36
15	76	67	66	66
16	28	28	28	26
17	65	55	64	57
18	22	16	23	21
19	33	26	28	27
20	38	17	23	15
21	32	22	11	17
22	53	34	52	40
23	27	17	22	17
24	36	25	39	24
25	34	24	22	30
26	34	32	58	44
27	61	65	62	59
28	99	57	76	86
29	196	455	175	191
30	49	54	73	48
31	87	87	89	92
32	82	64	43	46
33	58	36	41	47
34	38	27	34	34
35	32	25	34	24
Total	2,043	2,952	1,823	1,822

The Ruskin Colony

The Coming Nation of April 6 contains a long, straightforward and well-written recital of the troubles at Ruskin. It is the first time that the real causes of the "smash-up" have appeared in that paper, and the "Secret History," as it is called, is one of the most truthful and honorable things that has been done for many a day.

The old maxim reads: "Necessity knows no law," or, more properly, but one law, the unchangeable, the inexorable law of necessity—a law that operates always in the direction of despair. As truly as "necessity," capitalism knows no law, except to extract from the victims of necessity as much tribute money as possible, always adjusting in proportion to the "wage scales." When the time comes that necessity shall know no law, except the law of self-defense—the capitalistic law of tribute and extortion will cease to operate. Men will receive all they earn. The coming of the period depends upon the courage, the intelligence and the will-power of the victims of capitalistic laws, having one purpose in view, the increasing poverty of the poor and the increasing wealth of the rich.

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